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"FAIRNESS" IN LOVE AND WAR.

"ALL's fair in love and war" is, perhaps, the most famous, though not the oldest of all proverbs. It is also the most inclusive, for it appeals alike to the founders and to the destroyers of human societies. The revelations of our divorce courts and the discussion evoked by such books as Mr. Allen's "The Mettle of the Pasture," the capture of Aguinaldo and other incidents of the campaign in the Philippines, and the wiles of party politics throughout the nation furnish striking examples of individual and collective faith in the ethics of this trite saying.

The association of war and love in the same adage corresponds, in its rudest and simplest form, to the practice once in vogue among certain Californian Indians of arousing in themselves the proper war mood by singing, "Let's go carry off the young women!" With many barbarous tribes and peoples in the early stages of civilization "wife getting" is the motive of innumerable war expeditions and the cause of endless intertribal disputes. Indeed, some authorities have looked on this as the prime reason for war in the beginnings of culture. The rape of the Sabine women, the carrying-off of Helen, and the events chronicled or remembered in Irish legend, English ballad, German fairy-tale, and Slavonic folk-song find their analogues all over the globe.

Yet not always has the epic glorified war and love thus coupled in deceit. Spenser, "the poets' poet," tells us, in the first stanza of his "Faery Queen," that

Fierce wars and faithful loves shall moralize my song.

And some poets of savage and barbarous peoples might, long before him, have said at least as much.

I.

"All's fair in love and war" may be said to express a conceit of barbarism and civilization rather than a thought of primitive man, for in the very first stages of society "fierce wars" were probably as rare

as "faithful loves" were common. The facts of evolution and the struggle for existence by no means imply that the earliest creatures deserving the name of human beings lived in a state of hardly intermittent combat. Still less does evolution mean that the relations of the sexes with each other began in universal promiscuity, out of which, through polygamy, arose a certain precarious monogamy, the perfection of which has been the hardest task of modern culture. Major J. W. Powell has thus described really primitive man: "We must think of mankind as scattered everywhere throughout the world in little tribes at the beginning of culture, — a tribe on this plain, a tribe by that bay, a tribe on that shore of the ocean; little tribes scattered over the whole of the habitable earth, all beginning their industries, mainly in stone art; beginning their speech mainly in mimic words; beginning their pleasures mainly in the same childish sports, in the same athletic exercises, in the same games of divination and chance. . . . The whole habitable earth covered with tribes, not closely crowding one another, perhaps, but covered with little tribes, each speaking its own language and engaging in its own activities of all classes." In such a state of human society, peace, not war, would be the rule, and conditions would make for monogamy, not promiscuity. Prince Kropotkin has well said: "At no period of man's life were wars the normal state of existence. While warriors exterminated each other, and the priests celebrated their massacres, the masses continued to live their daily life, they prosecuted their daily toil." War is a product of later stages of human progress than those represented by strictly primitive man, whose peaceful predilections were assured, as Letourneau and Shaler have pointed out, by the fact that the anthropoid and the proto-anthropoid ascendants in the series were, as their nearest relatives to-day still are, among the least "warlike" of all animals. "Nature, red in tooth and claw," lay far from the immediate birth of man. Long before that event we glimpse the lessening rôle of physical combat and the emergence of mental rather than carnal athletics. One epitome of the story is to be seen in the development of the human finger-nail, which, in the words of Professor Shaler, demonstrates how "the grim needs of militancy gave place to the higher service of intelligence." Hardly, therefore, could the first fairness which the race knew have been derived from war. The instinctive trust of the fireside antedated the confidence born of battle experiences. The simple group distribution of early man favored, too, the development of the family with monogamic sex relations. An excellent example of this condition of affairs may be seen in the Veddas of Ceylon, one of the most primitive peoples now existing on the earth, who are strictly monogamous (they say "death alone can separate husband and wife," and punish adultery with death). They

are likewise a very peaceable and a very truthful race (according to so careful observers as the brothers Sarasin "they have not yet acquired the art of lying"). Here, evidently, "all's fair in love and war" could not have the significance it has with the civilized nations of to-day. Nor can it apply even to the belligerent ones among these primitive groups, as a general rule. The savage Seri of the Gulf of California, whose dislike of the alien amounts to a "race-sense," are, to judge from McGee's recent careful study of them, practically monogamic (the polygyny now noticeable being of not very remote origin and incidental, not primal), with a curious moral test, and a considerable appreciation of woman for so uncouth a race of men. With the Seri, who represent one of the very lowest stages of American Indian culture, all might be fair, possibly in war, but certainly not in love, for concerning them we are told: "Marriage is one of the profoundest sacraments of the tribe, penetrating the innermost recesses of tribal thought, and interwoven with the essential fibres of tribal existence. Few, if any, other peoples devote such anxious care to their mating as do the Seri; and among no other known tribe or folk is the moral aspect of conjugal union so rigorously guarded by collective action and individual devotion."

The predominance of militancy in barbarism and in certain stages of civilization led sometimes to the utter subjection of woman as the "weaker vessel," to be kept in ignorance and to be deceived as man's will, fancy, or passion moved him; and sometimes to a sort of protective hypocrisy among women, who before men's faces tried to be what they wanted them to be, and behind their backs mocked and cheated them to their heart's content. The one idea was in full flourish in western Africa in the beginning of the last century, the other reached its climax in mediæval Europe. The first finds rude æsthetic expression in the mummery and masquerading of "Mumbo-Jumbo," the second appears as brick in the *fabliaux* and as marble in the Decameron. It is a long way from the barbarous imposition of the African to the polished deceit and *finesse* of the Middle Ages and their twentieth-century representatives, but the source of these tricks and artifices is in all periods to be met in the overweening masculinity of man and in the genius of woman in acting and in fiction, which she can turn to utilitarian advantage in the field of her own loves no less than she can employ it impersonally in the creations of the drama and the novel. Woman's apparent advantage in these matters is, however, counteracted by man's tendencies to unisexual club-life, leading to a more general assent on his part to the dictum "all's fair in love" than her greater conscientiousness and her more lively feelings of jealousy towards her own sex would permit her to create, or, having created, to maintain. In his attempts to deceive, man has

so often the aid of his fellow males *en masse*, woman as frequently the handicap of her higher humanity.

One aspect of "fairness" is concerned with the way in which many uncivilized and some civilized peoples initiate boys into manhood as preparation for the "campaign" of wife-getting. Numerous secret societies, "men's clubs," bachelors' organizations, etc., such as the "Mumbo-Jumbo" and its kin in western Africa, the Melanesian "Duk-Duk" and the like, exist for the purpose of keeping the women and children under and subjecting them to the whims and caprices of the men, through fear inspired by the sight of masks, ceremonies, and other things entirely controlled by the "stronger" sex. At the proper time, boys are let into the secrets of these mummeries, their hollowness and mockery are disclosed to them, and they are sworn to continue to deceive the women and children as their fathers have done. The boy's entrance upon manhood is coincident with his adoption of a creed of deception. The complex initiation ceremonies of the Australian aborigines lead the youth along the same path. After the fright and the pain of his "man-making" are over he learns that the terrible things which he has heard, seen, and felt are all "make-believe," intended to cause the women to recognize the superiority of the men. To be sure, in a few parts of the world women have similar institutions to make felt their power over the men, but not possessing the "social" solidarity of the men, their efforts are not rewarded with very great success, except in rare instances. In stages of society like those noted above, the youth, as a male, is made to regard woman as decidedly his inferior and a legitimate object of his deceit. He may dupe her as his elders duped him. In less complete and effective form, the African and Australian systems of "keeping the women down" are to be found in parts of America and even in civilized Europe. Dr. Heinrich Schurtz, who has made a special study of these institutions, points out how many of the social establishments of the present time—men's clubs, orders, secret societies, political and religious, and even educational organizations, etc.—have been devised in a spirit of "patronage" of woman, or with open declaration of belief in her inferiority and concealed or expressed intention to condone a good deal of unfair dealing towards her. Much of the Australian and the African philosophy lies hid in what "we men" think of and do to "those women."

In cases where unfairness is permitted in matters of love, savage and barbarous peoples often allow both sexes an equal "right to do wrong." The woman's way of capturing a husband is sometimes quite as *outré* as is the man's fashion of obtaining a wife. In some of the Malay countries (according to Skeat) the would-be husband is put through a severe examination at the hands of the female relatives

of the bride, which is fully the equivalent of the "looking over the bride" in vogue in some parts of the globe, savage and civilized. And if the idea that "all's fair in love" happens to be current with a people among whom the women do the wooing, the young man is hard put to it in the way of proper deportment.

That women, as well as "mice and men," can "plan" most cleverly is seen from the story of an Ojibwa Indian maiden recorded by Schoolcraft. The young man who had been visiting her, apparently to her satisfaction, was dilatory about proposing. So beneath the robes on the floor of the tent where he reposed, when on love's errand, she constructed a deep pit, after the manner of a trapper of big game, and neatly disguised it. The swain, throwing himself down unsuspectingly, soon found himself headforemost in the hole, where he remained until he had consented to become the husband of the artful maiden.

In some of the Indo-Pacific countries the amorous swain is inveigled into a room richly hung with primitive tapestry and ornament, and, if he will not have her who is wooing him thus, has by custom to pay for the extra beautifying of the house into which he has come. And in some other parts of the world the "ways of a maid" are very peculiar.

The conduct of engaged couples is one of the problems of modern society. In America, as in some other civilized lands, it is no great offence for another admirer of a young lady to win her affections away from her affianced lover, though happily it is not in the list of social virtues. "Fairness" in love still permits this issue, and the world generally contemplates the situation with equanimity. Such affairs often recall, in a marked fashion, "marriage by capture" and "wife-getting" among some of the less civilized races of mankind, where the fact of a young woman having been chosen by another is held to be excellent reason for securing her for one's self. Some men, in both barbarism and culture, seem to be under the necessity of having the drama of wooing enacted beneath their very eyes before they can nerve themselves to the task of choosing a mate. Then, too, the "campaign" of love has its camp followers, taking no share in the chances and dangers of battle, but ready ever to plunder the victor in unwary moments. In many parts of the world "being engaged" is a much more serious thing than it is with the "summer girl" at the seashore. Savage and barbarous tribes, who agree with the old antiquarian, Selden, in esteeming marriage a "desperate" thing, often separate engaged couples altogether, allowing them no communication of any sort, not even a sight of each other. The time between betrothal and marriage is one of avoidance, willing or imposed, of each other's society, — almost the direct opposite of the

practice in some parts of America and Europe. This separation of betrothed couples, with the idea of keeping them "safe" till the marriage ceremony has been performed, is in vogue in divers regions of the East Indies. Sometimes it is the girl upon whom is laid the duty of keeping out of her lover's way during this period. In parts of New Guinea, if she sees her lover coming, the girl must hide in the woods till he is past, and Skeat informs us that the Malay girl is "watchful as a tiger" in her efforts not to let her lover get a sight of her. A widespread and protracted duration of such a taboo between engaged couples would, according to Mr. Crawley, who has written an interesting book on primitive marriage, account for some of the "uncanny feeling" in these matters still persisting in society to-day.

Uncivilized peoples, more than civilized, have diminished the possibility of "deceit" both before and after marriage by imposing upon the unmarried, the married, and the widowed certain distinctions in dress and ornament which make known beyond a doubt the social condition of the wearer. Of this custom the girl's long braid of hair, the ring, and the widow's weeds are about all that survive in the highest modern culture. This revelation of one's sexual standing is not confined to one sex alone, for among many barbarous tribes youth and maiden alike have to inform the primitive public in some such way of their present expectations, as their elders are also bound to do concerning their past experiences. The young men of the Admiralty Islands, like the young women of the Shulis of Central Africa, indicate their unmarried state by their dress and ornamentation. Among the natives of the Andaman Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, where painting the body is much in vogue with both sexes, the unmarried are forbidden to paint their necks. Among the Tapuya Indians of Brazil, the presence of some red paint about the eyes of a young girl signified that, although she had not yet been courted by any man, her mother was perfectly willing that she should be. The Burun negroes of the Blue Nile region have quite an elaborate system. Unmarried girls wear an apron in front; married women one in front and one behind; women who have already been mothers, two in front, one over the other. Methods of dressing the hair, tattoo-marks, etc., serve in other parts of the world for like purposes. The Coyotero Apache virgin, or unmarried woman, wears her hair in a coil; among the Moki the fashion is to wear it in a disc at each side of the head.

Investigation of mediæval and modern peasant Europe (the Teutonic countries in particular) reveals many ways in which the right of young couples to pair off and sort themselves without the interference of the rest of the community has been acknowledged. During

the period of this "agreement" such practices as engaged couples allow themselves with us in respect to other young people are not at all tolerated, and would be not only "bad form" but bad morals as well. The "auctioning off" of maidens, the "May sales," the "Valentine choosing," and kindred customs, not yet entirely extinct, belong here. Schurtz is of opinion that the childish custom of eating a "filipina," or, as the Germans have it, a *Vielliebchen*, with any one, is a reduced form of the same practice. The "girl auction" is still remembered in parts of Rhenish Germany, Westphalia, Hesse, etc. In the Mosel country, the day on which this allotment of the maidens among the young men takes place is called "Valentine's day," which brings it into relation with certain English customs belonging to the same general folk-idea. In the Italian Tyrol and in the southern Vosges, the apportionment takes place at a "March-fire." In divers parts of Germany (according to Schulte, etc.) it occurred on May-day, or thereabouts. The result of the "auctioning," "pairing," "allotment," "sale," "loan," etc., was to secure that the couples should have a free opportunity to discover whether they were suited to each other enough to become partners for life at the end of this probationary period, during which nothing but innocent endearments and love tokens were permitted to be interchanged. The length of this period was usually a year, or from early spring to late harvest, and within those limits neither the youth nor the maid was allowed to dance with, coquette with, or have any love passages whatsoever with anybody else,—they were to be, or to try to be, sufficient unto themselves. The "auctioneer," like the oracle-keeper of old, made his decisions run along the lines of matches already practically accomplished, where such existed, and no great injustice seems to have been attempted; and as a rule the youth had no great difficulty in obtaining the girl of his choice. The "auction" sometimes consists merely in announcing publicly, one after another, the names of the couples who have agreed to keep company with each other exclusively for the next year; in some cases, however, a list of all the unmarried girls is prepared, and considerable teasing and good-natured badgering occurs before like gets like. In some regions the list appears to have been hung up in a public place, and the swains marked upon it their preferences. In the Schwalm country the youths and maidens assemble on the night of the first of May beneath the village linden, and one of the former, who has climbed up into the tree, sings an interrogative verse, in response to which the rest chant the names of a couple, whose hearts have already, to the common knowledge, commenced to beat as one. Then the company sing: "The first year for love, the second year for marriage," etc. The same general sense of fairness which meets us in these

practices is to be found also in the song games of our children, so often reflecting the doings of their elders of former generations. This is seen in the familiar

Choose to the east, and choose to the west,
Choose the very one you love best ;
If he (she 's) not here to take your part,
Choose the next one to your heart.

The children's songs reveal the fact, also, that the "choosing" was not always confined to the "sterner" sex, as we know it was not among many primitive peoples, with whom the woman has practically all to do in selecting a life partner. The numerous children's games in which the girl has to "name her beau" go back to such a condition of affairs, according to some authorities. To the men's choosing go back such song games as "Here she stands, a lovely creature," "Down in the meadow," and many more. The parallels between the customs of adults among savage and barbarous peoples (likewise among the ignorant and uncultivated classes of the civilized races) and the plays and games of children are often very noteworthy here. And the general sense of fairness inherent in children's games can also be observed, more than is commonly believed, in the actions of primitive men.

II.

Not all savage and barbarous peoples, as many suppose, believe that "anything is fair in war." Even the Malays, reputed the most treacherous of mankind, do not blindly assent to such a proposition. Montaigne, in the sixteenth century, knew this, for in one of his essays he writes : "In the kingdom of Ternate, among those nations which we, so full-mouthed, call barbarous, the custom beareth that they never undertake a war before the same be denounced, thereunto adding an ample declaration of the means they have to employ therein, what manner and how many men, what munition, and what arms either offensive or defensive. Which done, they also establish as a law that, without reproach or imputation, it shall be lawful for any man, in their wars, to use what advantage soever may in any sort further or help them to vanquish."

What Montaigne recorded of the natives of the Moluccas might have been said at a much later period of other tribes of Malayan stock. With the Malays of Menangkabau in Sumatra (perhaps the original home of that race), war, as Steinmetz observes, was as carefully regulated at least as is the modern European duel. Wars between tribes or states had to take place on neutral ground, or on land belonging to private individuals, for the use of which both sides had to pay. Battles could occur but once a week, and they were engaged in only by the champions of each tribe, who attacked each

other with stones and other weapons, cheered on by their fellow tribesmen, and by the women, who furnished meat and drink. General contests were rare, and the slaying or wounding of any combatant seems to have brought about the cessation of hostilities and the conclusion of peace. Marsden, the historian of Sumatra, writing in the eighteenth century, informs us that, notwithstanding the fact that incessant warfare existed between certain tribes of that island, battles could be fought only at fixed hours of the day. Similar limitations of warfare are reported from various parts of the Archipelago, from Java to Timor. Among the natives of Ponapé, in the Carolines, war had been so "reduced" that after six months' fighting scarcely a wounded, not to say a dead, man could be counted on either side. The Tobas, by preference, fought their battles in an open field, and the side upon which the first man was killed withdrew at once, considering itself defeated. The Bataks of Sumatra fixed the distance at which the two sides should stand from each other before beginning to shoot. Among some of the natives of the islands of Torres Straits and parts of Australia the noise and din of battle are fearful, but the moment one of the combatants is tomahawked the fight is over and friendship is renewed amid great feasting. This feasting after battle is characteristic of many savage and barbarous peoples of the Indo-Pacific area, and some of the war ideas here considered contributed, no doubt, to make many of them a rather easy prey for white soldiery. One is surprised at the extent to which war, with many of these peoples, partakes of the nature of a regulated combat, like the duel, instead of being everywhere and always a promiscuous action with endless carnage. From another point of view war here is almost a "picnic."

Letourneau selects the New Caledonians as exemplifying war at its worst among savages; here all devices, traps, lures, and deceptions are practised. Yet the related Australians and Tasmanians evinced a sort of chivalry quite unexpected in such quarters. This primitive desire for fairness, while it did not, of course, mean the absence of treachery and ambush in intertribal wars or combats with the whites, was so strong with the Australians that before attacking unarmed Europeans they sometimes furnished them with weapons to use against them. Some Australian battles are nothing more than a series of duels involving successively all the combatants, each of whom had to give and to receive (without parrying) a blow, the victory falling to the side that was least "used up."

"Stop the war" movements are often more successful among savage and barbarous peoples than among civilized. In several regions of the East Indies, Australasia, etc., any woman can put an end to the fighting at once, — on the island of Leti, by throwing her

sarong or kirtle (which the men dare not touch without her permission) into the midst of the combatants; in the Aru Archipelago by throwing among them the back part of her girdle, which is also tabu and may not be touched. Somewhat similar virtues were attached to the *mandili* or head-cloth of the women of the Tushi, a mountain-people of the Caucasus. The women of the Ossetes, another Caucasian people, are said to have been able to stop at least for a time the fiercest combat. Among the Albanian mountaineers women not only put an end to street fights, but save their villages from the direct results of war, by making their way between the two lines of warriors and compelling, by such action, a cessation of arms. With some of the native tribes of Australia women had the same privilege, and Diodorus records how certain ancient African peoples gave up battling when aged women threw themselves between the combatants, and a similar custom was known to the Sabines, and to the famous Circassians of the Caucasus. It is reported also from some of the American Indian tribes (in Louisiana, *e. g.*). Indeed, we hardly expected to find so widespread among savage and barbarous peoples the recognition of such powers and privileges in women, both individually and collectively.

Women have also the power to relieve war of much of its horrors by interfering on behalf of prisoners, slaves, etc. The classic example of Pocahontas could be paralleled in almost any region of the globe among the "lower" races. Among the ancient Slavs a man who was under the protection of the women was safe even from "blood revenge." At the Australian *borbobbies*, or intertribal "tournaments," the men of the defeated party are protected by the women (elderly and middle-aged), and in the territory of the Goajiro Indians (Venezuela) it was safe to travel in the company of a woman in war time. Actions like that of Pocahontas, in saving the life of Captain John Smith, were often not at all love episodes, but merely the impulsive or the deliberate exercise of a well-understood right and privilege. In stages of human society where "mother right" and allied institutions prevailed, and the women were the arbiters in the matter of adoption, which plays so large a rôle in savage and barbarous life, the captive children or even adults were assured of a condition by no means very inferior to that of the generality of their class among the victors. Adoption, regulated by the women, was thus a great ameliorator of the results of primitive warfare. Moreover, there was at first no great reason why, after the battle was over, the survivors of the defeated party should be treated otherwise by the victors than as practically their equals, the general desire to restore as nearly as possible the *status quo* making its effect felt here as elsewhere. So we find that the imposing of degrading and humiliating conditions

upon a defeated foe, while known to all stages of man and, except the earliest beginnings, is not at all a constant mark of either savagery or barbarism. Captive children especially would be adopted by the victorious party and treated exactly as their own children. Later, as Major Powell has shown, come slavery and "perpetual younger brotherhood," with increasing limitations and deprivation of privileges and individual rights. Until such ideas crept in, human societies had no desire for adding to themselves people who would not be practically their equals. Among the Ossetes of the Caucasus merely to touch the breasts of a woman secured adoption. Appreciation of bravery and other qualities among savage and barbarous peoples often led to the same results in the case of adults. In early human society women have had great powers and privileges as peacemakers, and all over the world their competency as ambassadors has been acknowledged. They have thus been enabled to make their influence felt in the terms of treaties, and sometimes their mere presence has brought about peace. The border warfare of the Albanian mountaineers was often brought to a close by preliminary peace negotiations inaugurated by an "embassy" of women. The Australian blacks have their *pulara*, or women peacemakers. In parts of New Guinea a peace party would not be listened to unless one at least of its members was a woman. The old women of the Tasmanians were arbiters both in times of peace and in war; so too the Circassian women. The ancient Celts, as well as the Teutons, knew women as peacemakers. During the Middle Ages in Europe princely women were often preferred as arbiters and peace ambassadors. With not a few savage and barbarous peoples war itself was not "fair" until the women of the tribe had sanctioned it. Some of the Iroquois recognized women as the proper persons to begin negotiations of peace with the enemy, and allowed them to veto proposals of war.

The ancient Romans, at various periods of their history, placed on record their belief that not all things were fair in war. With the Sabine treatment of the false Tarpeia may be compared the punishment meted out by the Roman general Camillus to the Faliscan schoolmaster, who betrayed his pupils into the hands of their enemies. The Roman Senate interfered to prevent the widow of Regulus, who had been tortured by the Carthaginians, from carrying beyond human belief the cruelties inflicted by her upon illustrious Carthaginian prisoners handed over to her tender mercies. More than once the senators of the Eternal City contrasted the action of the Roman people in these matters with "Punic wiles" and "Greek policies." And though their descendants in later days have furnished us with Machiavellianism and often illustrated but too well the cunning of

the proverb, *ò per fortuna ò per ingegno vincere* ("by fortune or by wit to win"), the wars and battles of the Middle Ages prove that other ideas of fairness sometimes prevailed. Though the Romans denounced the "policies" of the Greeks, some of the Hellenic tribes were even more desirous than they to escape the imputation of deception and treachery in war. The Achæans, whose name came to be poetically applied to all the Greeks, were especially famed for their adhesion to the code of virtue and valor alone.

Perhaps the oldest and most interesting, though now the least known, of all the declarations of what is not "fair" in war is to be found in The Laws of Manu, the sacred code of the ancient Hindus, a work dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. The prohibitions are as follows :—

"When he fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed (in wood), nor with (such as are) barbed, poisoned, or the points of which are blazing with fire.

"Let him not strike one who (in fight) has climbed on an eminence, nor a eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hands (in supplication), nor one who (flees) with flying hair, nor one who sits down, nor one who says I am thine.

"Nor one who sleeps, nor one who has lost his coat-of-mail, nor one who is naked, nor one who is disarmed, nor one who looks on without taking part in the fight, nor one who is fighting with another (foe).

"Nor one whose weapons are broken, nor one afflicted (with sorrow), nor one who has been grievously wounded, nor one who is in fear, nor one who has turned to flight; (but in all cases let him) remember the duty (of honorable warriors)."

It must be admitted that this code is very inclusive, and not all the warring nations of the twentieth century could live up to it.

The "city of refuge" is one of the primitive methods of lessening the evils of war. The idea of a "city of refuge" is not confined, as some suppose, to the ancient Israelites, but was well known to some of the American aborigines, particularly the Creeks, the Cherokees, and part of the northern Iroquois. To these towns even the wilful murderer sometimes could escape till the anger of the relatives and friends of his victim was appeased. The Cherokee town of Echota and the Creek town of Coosa were "cities of refuge," and the latter, Mr. Mooney tells us, "although then (in the middle of the eighteenth century) almost deserted and in ruins, was still a place of safety for one who had taken human life without design." Out of these towns, in which no blood could be shed, may have developed the "peace towns" of the Indians of the southeastern United States. The Creeks had their "red towns," in which the spirit of warfare was

kept alive, and raids and military expeditions encouraged and promoted; and the "white" or "peace" towns, which were as much devoted to the furtherance of peace with its attendant arts and industries. To these "peace towns" the epithets "old beloved, ancient, holy, or white" were applied. The Senecas, one of the great divisions of the Iroquoian stock, had a very remarkable institution, which has been lately written of by Mr. Carrington as follows: "The stronghold or fort, Gau-stra-yea, on the mountain ridge, four miles east of Lewiston, had a peculiar character as the residence of a virgin queen known as the 'Peacemaker.' When the Iroquois confederacy was first formed the prime factors were mutual protection and domestic peace, and this fort was designed to afford comfort and relieve the distress incident to war. It was a true 'city of refuge,' to which fugitives from battle, whatever their nationality, might flee for safety and find generous entertainment. Curtains of deerskin separated pursuer and pursued while they were being lodged and fed. At parting, the curtains were withdrawn, and the hostile parties, having shared the hospitality of the queen, could neither renew hostility or pursuit without the queen's consent." The "refuge" idea is also found among various other primitive peoples.

In the camping circles of the Siouan Indians the war element had its position on the right, the peace element on the left, and each of the tribes seems to have had peace gentes as well as war gentes. This separation of the warlike and the peaceable members of the community is known in various ways to other and even less cultured tribes.

With many uncivilized peoples the proportion of individuals engaged in warlike enterprises is often very small. The Creeks used to carry on the warfare in small bodies; some consisted of no more than four men, and Dr. Gatschet informs us that with them "it is not recollected by the oldest man that more than one half of the nation ever went to war at the same time, or 'took the war talk.'" Moreover, "every Creek town could go on the warpath or stay at home in spite of any wish or decree issued by the chiefs or assembled warriors." When after argument had been exhausted the "Great Warrior" left the council, such as were for war followed him out, but the rest went the way of peace. This voluntary aspect of war and peace among uncivilized peoples is a most interesting and important phase of early human society.

Primitive chiefs, as a rule, since their office was often more of a social or religious than of an exclusively military character, used their influence on the side of peace. Many Indian tribes had their peace chiefs no less than their war chiefs, the latter most frequently exercising authority in war time only, and over warriors alone sometimes,

the former being the real head of the tribe, for even savage and barbarous stages of culture have seen that war is the temporary and the unusual, not the permanent and the common, condition of human affairs. Many such peoples, like the Omaha Indians, as described by the late J. Owen Dorsey, had neither standing armies (or militia), official generals, or permanent war chiefs, while all military service, from the highest to the lowest, was voluntary in all cases. Wars of long duration were practically unknown, and battles few in number.

From these facts we can see that, if savage and barbarous peoples have not all reached the ideal of the one part of the well-known song,

If I were King of France,
Or, still better, Pope of Rome,
I'd have no fighting men abroad,
Or weeping maids at home,

many of them have succeeded in letting

Those who make the quarrels be the only ones to fight.

This brief survey of the topics suggested by the familiar saying, "All's fair in love and war," ought to leave us with a better opinion of mankind, past and present, than its specious popularity would seem to indicate. We have seen that, from the beginning until now, neither treacherous war nor faithless love has at any period been the ideal of all the races of man. The deeper social tradition and the individual conscience have always inclined man to deal honorably with friend and with foe. Perfidious killing and lying have never had the unanimous approval of the generations that have preceded us. In every age they have been strong in numbers and in intelligence who have declared, with the old Roman writer:—

"A wise and religious man will know that is victory indeed, which shall be attained with credit unimpeached and dignity untainted."

And neither the "hell" of war nor the "heaven" of love has power to change the eternal-human.

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